Charles Eliot Norton Esq
with the Author's respects &
best compliments

LETTERATURA DANTESCA.

REMARKS ON THE READING

OF THE

114TH VERSE OF THE VIITH CANTO OF THE

PARADISE OF THE DIVINA COMMEDIA.

BY

H. C. BARLOW, M.D.

(PRINTED AS MANUSCRIPT.)

LONDON:

MDCCCLVII.

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Only a few of the Codici of the Divina Commedia contained in the principal Libraries of Italy, in the National Library at Paris, and in that of the British Museum, are noticed in the following pages, as it was not, at any time, the author's intention in examining them to collect statistics of readings, but only to ascertain, in particular passages, what the readings of the most esteemed Codici were.

The actual number of Codici at Florence is about 188, of which 87 are in the *Laurenziana*, 36 in the *Magliabechiana*, and as many in the *Riccardiana*, the remainder in the *Palatina*, and in private libraries. Mr. Seymour Kirkup's library contains five.

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NEWINGTON BUTTS, SURREY,

October 18, 1856.

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In this canto, Beatrice discoursing to Dante on the subject of man's redemption, explains to him why it pleased God to effect this great work by both his ways of justice and mercy, and having stated the reasons for this, thus continues—

> "La divina bontá che 'l mondo imprenta,
> Di proceder per tutte le sue vie
> A rilevarvi suso fu contenta;
> Nè tra l'ultima notte e 'l primo die,
> Sì alto e sì magnifico processo,
> *O per l'una o per l'altra fue o fie.*"

The words of this last line—"or for the one or other was or will be"—even if the grammatical forms of the Italian language did not impart greater pre-

Paradiso, VII.

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important one, written for the writer's own use, in 1419; also the Codex, No. 1536. The Codex Caetani, of the eminent dantofilist Michelangelo Caetani, Duca di Sermonetta, has also this reading; and one of the Corsini Codici has been altered to it.

Among the latter, in the Vatican Library, were the following: the Codex, No. 3199, that once belonged to *Petrarca*, and has been supposed to have been written by Boccaccio, a statement which the characters of the writing rather confirm, though the readings do not; also the Codex, No. 366, with the date 1352; and the Codex urbinato, No. 365, the most magnificent of any, the text of which would seem to have been taken chiefly from the preceding one (No. 366), which is about one hundred years its senior.

Of thirty-nine Codici examined at Florence, twenty-six had the first reading, nine had the second, and four had a third reading—"*o per l'uno o per l'altra*," the masculine form of the adjective pronoun preceding the feminine.

Eight of these were in the Laurenziana, eighteen in the Magliabechiana, eleven in the Riccardiana, and two in the library of my friend, Mr. Seymour Kirkup. Of the eight Codici in the Laurenziana, six, including the *Codex Villani* with the date 1343, had the first reading "*o per l'una o per l'altra;*" and two, the *Codex Visconti*, and the Codex *Tempiano minore* had the third reading, "*o per l'uno o per l'altra.*

Of the eighteen examined in the Magliabechiana,

nine had the first reading, seven had the second, and two had the third. Of the eleven examined in the Riccardiana, nine had the first reading, one the second, and one the third; among those with the first, were the Codici 1004, 1024, 1025, and 1027, referred to by the four Florentine editors, whose observations my own did not confirm. Of the two Codici in the library of Mr. Seymour Kirkup, one had the first reading, and one the second. Of the three Codici examined at Siena in the Public Library, two had the first, and one the second reading.

Of the seventeen Codici examined in the north of Italy, between Venice and Pavia, eleven, including the *Codex Marciano*, had the first reading, and six the second.

Of the eleven Codici examined between Bologna and Piacenza, seven had the first reading, including the *Codex Landi* with the date 1336; three, including the *Codex Estense*, had the second reading; and one, a Codex at Parma, No. 17 of the Codici Italiani, had the fourth reading, or that of the Padre Lombardi, "*o per l'una o per l'altro.*"

Of the twenty-one Codici examined in France and England, thirteen were in the National Library at Paris, one in the library of the School of Medicine at Montpellier, and seven in the Library of the British Museum. Of these, seventeen, including the Paris Codex, No. 10 of the "Fonds de Reserve," the Montpellier Codex, and the

British Museum Codici, No. 943, and No. 10,317, had the first reading, and four had the second.

Of the three German Codici examined, that in the Royal Library at Berlin, which once belonged to Dr. Nott, had the first reading; that in the Imperial Library at Vienna, the *Codex Eugeniano*, had the second; and the Codex in the Royal Library at Dresden, had the fourth reading. The three Codici in Denmark have all the first reading. So that out of one hundred and forty-four Codici, including nearly all those of importance in Italy, France, England, and Germany, only *two* were found to have the reading first set up by the Padre Lombardi, and systematically followed by succeeding editors.

The general result of this examination may be stated as follows: —

First reading — "O per l'una o per l'altra fue o fie"—95 Codici.
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Of various Codici seen in other Italian cities, as in Perugia, Ravenna, Pesaro, Lucca, &c., the author cannot now find any particulars: but those which have been noticed are sufficient to show that the reading of the great majority is that followed in all the early editions down to the *Nidobeatina* inclusive, an important fact which future editors would do well to remember; and that although

numerous Codici have the second reading, yet that their authority is not equal to that of the former, and is not followed in the early editions.

Lastly, it would appear, that the exceptions to these two readings are such as may have occurred from the carelessness of copyists, and are just what might have been expected, from the known result obtained in similar cases, five per cent. upon the whole being a very moderate amount to allow for errors: but even these errors tell against the Padre Lombardi and his obsequious *seguaci*, for out of seven they are left in the minority of two.

There can scarcely be desired any better evidence to prove that the reading of the 114 verse of the seventh canto of the Paradise should be —

> "O per l'una o per l'altra fue o fie,"

and that this was what Dante wrote.

"ONORATE L'ALTISSIMO POETA!"

GEO. NICHOLS, EARL'S COURT, LEICESTER SQUARE.

A BRIEF MEMOIR

OF

H. C. BARLOW, M.D.

By J. V. F.

Henry Clark Barlow, M.D., was born May 12th, 1806, at Newington Butts, Surrey, where his family had held a property for three generations. He was not originally intended for the Medical Profession, nor did he ever practise it. After the usual course of schooling began at Gravesend in Kent and finished at Hall Place, Bexley, he was placed in 1822 with Mr. George Smith, Architect and Surveyor, of Mercer's Hall, as an articled pupil, and soon became a student of the Royal Academy; but in 1827, in consequence of an accidental wound by a pair of dividers in a branch of the median nerve to the right thumb, he relinquished the Profession. The two following years were passed in private study to supply the deficiencies of a neglected education. In 1829 he went to Paris to attend the public lectures in the Jardin des Plants, and at the College de France. Here a Scotch Doctor, fresh from Alma Mater, suggested regular courses of study in the University of Edinburgh as preferable to the attendance on Professors at Paris. The idea was approved of, and in 1830, during a tour in Scotland, arrangements were made with a friend at Dollar for a course of classical reading in the following spring; and in November, 1831, Henry Clark Barlow matriculated in the University of Edinburgh as a Medical Student, though with no intention of coming out a graduate. That he ever did so was also owing to the suggestion of a friend, who thought that he ought to crown his diligence as a student with the diploma of a Doctor, and so he did, and was very near gaining a gold medal as well as his degree, for the Thesis written on the occasion—"The causes and effects of Disease considered in reference to the Moral constitution of Man," was declared, by the Dean of Faculty, to be the first of those deserving of one. (See *The Edinburgh Evening Courant*, Aug. 3, 1837.) It was not, however, strictly a Medical Thesis, nor did it contain any original matter beyond the application of the argument, being founded on the works of Butler, Paley, Combe, the Boyle Lectures, and the Bridgewater Treatises. The author sought to show that diseases are, in most cases, traceable to the neglect of moral and physical laws, and are therefore not to be considered as evils in themselves, but as appointed remedies for what really are so, that is for states of things at variance with those laws. It was published, and favourably noticed in reviews, and the author received many gratifying letters approving of the manner in which he had treated the subject.

When Dr. Barlow fixed his residence at Edinburgh, which

pleased him well in all seasons excepting the spring, he did not confine his studies to Medical science. He was partial to Mathematics, was fond of Metaphysics, was charmed with the Philosophy of Mind, and then found attractions in the thorny processes of dogmatic Theology. The natural sciences also were great favourites, especially Geology. Nor had he entirely cast off Architecture and her sister arts, so that when he paid his addresses to Medicine, it was with a somewhat divided affection. In 1833 he became a member of the British Association, through his friend Professor Jameson; and in 1834 attended the meeting in Dublin, attaching himself to the geological section. On the 3rd of August, 1837, he was capped in company with his friend and fellow student John Hughes Bennett, since become the eminent Professor, the two B's being called up together. He passed another winter in Edinburgh, and then removed to Paris, where he became a member of the Parisien Medical Society, founded by his friend Dr. Bennett, and on the 6th of Frebuary, 1840, read a paper before the Society "On the distinction between Typhus Fever and Dothiénterie," a lengthy report of which appeared in the *Lancet*, No. 23, Feb. 29th. This was Dr. Barlow's last purely medical production; his first was "The Edinburg Practice of Physic," containing the results of four years' attendance in the Hospital, and the combined wisdom, for that time, of as many Clinical Professors; it was never printed. During the summer he made a collection of the rocks and fossils of the Paris Basin—measured and drew the Triumphal Arches—and in the winter, with some attendance on Hospitals and Lectures, laid, in the gallery of the Louvre, the foundation of that critical knowledge of the various schools of Painting which he was afterwards to complete in the countries of their birth. From Paris, in the spring of 1840, he proceeded to Belgium, spent the summer on the Rhine, and made the tour of Holland towards the close of the autumn.

Dr. Barlow had always been fond of country rambles, and of exploring new localities, but he first familiarized himself with home scenes before he entered upon foreign ones. When in an architect's office, he had every year taken a turn in the country for three weeks or a month, had walked round the Isle of Wight, had perambulated South Wales, and visited many pictoresque and historical places, filling his sketch books with views of scenery, castles, and other interesting objects, and his journal with descriptive notes. When he was master of his own time he made longer excursions. On his first visit to Scotland he explored the Western Highlands, took a journey through Ireland, went carefully over North Wales, doing every thing expected of a pedestrian except climbing the crest of Snowdon, and wound up a six months' holiday with a walk from Caernarvon to Cambridge.

Sketching and scribbling were, in fact, two never failing hobbies, and had been so ever since he was a boy. Sir Charles

Bell once said of him, publicly, that he had been born to go through the world with a *pen* in his hand, had Sir Charles said a *pencil*, it would have been literally true. Dr. Barlow returned from Germany and Holland with heaps of sketches, drawings, descriptions, and geological specimens; he had taken all the castles on the Rhine by the way, and had transferred to his portfolio all the Románesque churches.

Once on the Rhine we are in Nature's great highway to Switzerland and Italy. Travelling only needs a beginning, and with time and means at our disposal it is as easy to go forward as to return back, and much more agreeable. This was Dr. Barlow's theory. But he had another theory also which was, that we have no business to betake ourselves to foreign lands before it is in our power to put ourselves on a friendly footing with the natives by speaking *their* language, "for," he would say, "we ought to travel abroad in the same spirit with which we visit our friends at home, resolvèd to be pleased with them and with ourselves, which we never can be unless we speak their language. By acting in a friendly spirit we make foreigners our friends, for human sympathies are the same everywhere, and people are pleased and displeased from the same causes all the world over." A traveller ignorant of the language of the country in which he travels, is like a man in want of ready money to pay his way, he cannot coin for himself, and is glad to borrow where he can. Instead, therefore, of going on to Italy, Dr. Barlow returned home to study Italian. By the spring of 1841 he was prepared to resume his rambles, spent the summer in Switzerland, lived a month on the Righi, walked over the Oberland, and when the green leaves of summer were changing to autumnal brown, crossed the St. Gothard to Milan. Once in beloved Italy, which had been his dream by night, his desire by day, he seemed disposed never to leave it, and remained abroad nearly five years. Now his pen and pencil were more active than ever, and when he did return, just before Christmas in 1845, he came home laden with the *spolia opima*, his many note books telling the tale of his adventures, and the multitude of sketches and drawings recording the scenes through which he had passed. His life during this period was that of an artist. Architecture, Sculpture and Painting alike employed his pencil and his pen—he measured buildings—made drawings of Roman and Sicilian Antiquities—spent two months studying at Pompei—lived a year at Naples and in its neighbourhood, where, at the suggestion of his friend the Canonico Jorio, he took a series of sketches to illustrate the voyage of Æneas. He also made a collection of drawings to illustrate the History of Sculpture, especially early Christian sculpture, and from the 10th century to the time of Nicola Pisano. He made drawings of the frescoes in the Campo Santo at Pisa, and carefully studied and sketched other early works of the Italian schools. He wrote a History of Italian Sculpture, and a History of Italian Painting. During the winters he

resided in Florence, Rome, Naples, and Pisa; in spring, summer, and autumn he was rambling about everywhere. It was during the winter of 1844-5, when, owing to the unusual severity of the season, he returned from Genoa to Pisa instead of going on to Nice, that, as by providence directed, he became acquainted with the great Poet of Italy and Europe—DANTE ALLIGHIERI. He had resided at Pisa before as an artist, now he became a literary student. Professor Centofanti was lecturing upon the Philosophy of History, and had taken as his text book the Vita Nuova of the poet. From that time Dante became the Doctor's Idol, and he never went about without a copy of the DIVINA COMMEDIA in his pocket. Italy was now doubly dear to him—it had before been the land of highest art—now it became the land of the noblest poetry also—the Good, the Beautiful, and the True—Taste, and Imagination, and Reason culminated in DANTE as their most perfect expression. The study and illustration of the Poet's Works now took precedence of every thing else. In 1846 he returned to Italy, spent two winters in Florence, took part in the political movement of that period, made a pilgrimage to Ravenna, the Mecca of all Dantophilists, and in 1848 visited Athens and Constantinople, returning by way of the Danube through Hungary, where he caught fever and was very ill with it at Vienna. In 1849 Dr. Barlow resided for some time in Berlin, Dresden, and Prague. On his return to England he took up the question of the National Gallery, and under the signature of X. Y. Z., and subseqnently in his own name, contributed to the *Morning Post* a long series of letters on this subject, from Dec. 4th, 1849, to August 10th, 1854, some of which were sent from abroad. He also wrote on Public Libraries, and attended the Committee of the House of Commons at the invitation of Mr. Ewart the Chairman. The Britisn Museum also came in for a special series of Letters. Dr. Barlow, who was familiar with most of the public Libraries and Galleries of Art throughout Europe, sought in this way to turn his acquisitions to the benefit of his Country.

In 1850 he printed his first paper in reference to the Works of Dante—"Remarks on the reading of the 59th verse of the 5th canto of the Inferno." In this year he was again at Vienna, and at Venice, and wintered in Florence, living within a door or two of Dante's house. Examining Codici of the Divina Commedia had now become a sort of business in which he was indefatigable. Returning from Italy by the Via Emilia, he was recommended by the Cav. Pezzana, Grand ducal Librarian at Parma, to the Marquis Landi of Piacenza, as one who had no superior, so far as he knew, in Dante lore ("*nella Dantesca erudizione.*") The Great Exhibition brought him to London; on this occasion he published a little work entitled, "INDUSTRY ON CHRISTIAN PRINCIPLES." In 1852 he spent some time in examining Codici at Paris. In 1853 he again visited Germany, studying, by the way, early Westphalian Art, as it existed from the 12th to the 16th century. Of the collection of Herr Krüger at Minden he

sent a notice to the Prince Consort; the following year it was purchased for the National Gallery.

At Berlin Dr. Barlow rendered his travelling compatriots some service, in demanding satisfaction of the Prussian Government for having been detained on his arrival by the police, who pretended that his foreign-office passport should have had a Prussian visa. After six weeks, the authorities were forced to admit that *une faute grave* had been committed, for which some employé (who had sinned by order of his superiors) was declared to have been *sevérement repris.* (See *Morning Post,* July 26th, and Sept. 8th.)

Desirous of paying his respects to the most illustrious man in Europe, for whom he had long cherished a profound veneration, ALEXANDER VON HUMBOLDT—*Philosophorum facile Princeps*—and learning that he was out of town, Dr. Barlow sent him a complimentary letter and with it a small literary present.

The next day, to his agreeable surprise, he received the following courteous and characteristic reply.

> "Bien que je tache de me *petrifier* le plus lentment possible, il me parait cependant assez hasardeux, Monsieur, de Vous inviter a venir voir des *ruines.* Je ne puis resister au vif désir de Vous offrir de bouche l'homage de ma vive reconnaissance, non seulment à cause de la lettre aimable et spirituelle que Vous avez bien voulu m'adresser, mais aussi par l'envoi des "Christian Principles of Industry" et des vers mysterieux du "Mighty Florentine." Pourrais je avoir l'honneur de recevoir Mr. le Dr. Barlow, lundi à 1h½ : je ne serais malheureusment pas en ville le dernier jour de la semaine.
>
> Veuillez bien agreér, mon cher Monsieur, l'expression de mes sentimens les plus affectueux."
>
> H. v. HUMBOLDT,
> ce Vendredi.

The interview came off much to the satisfaction of the Doctor, who found the Savant of eighty-four summers still in a green old age, and scarcely knew which to admire most, his vigorous grasp of thought, his marvellous memory, or that charming urbanity which showed that the Prince of Philosophers was also the most perfect of Gentlemen. For the rest of the day the Doctor felt quite elated. From Berlin he proceeded to Dresden, and thence to Prague, that fine old city which always greatly pleased him.

Though spending much of his time in continental Galleries and Museums, Dr. Barlow did not neglect his literary studies. At the close of this year he completed his Theological Burnett Treatise, which, if bulk were indicative of merit, ought to have gained a prize, for it was in four volumes folio—it came out 13th in the struggle of more than two hundred, and was the most learned work Dr. Barlow ever wrote; it had taken four years to produce, and contained the result of his meditations for a quarter of a century—the title of it was "THE HARMONY OF CREATION AND REDEMPTION," with the motto, "*Homo sum; humani nihil á me alienum puto*"—it still remains in manuscript. At this time he commenced the study of early Symbolism in Art, especially

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evidence to us of His Divinity (John vii. 16, 17; 46)—and regarded Christianity as a system to be developed with the advancement of human science. Desirous that its humanizing influences should penetrate to the lowest classes, he was an advocate for providing rational recreation for them on the Lord's-day, by the opening of public galleries and museums, and for this object supported the Sunday League; he had also, under the signature "Anglicanus" contributed to its periodical "The Record." The principles he advocated were these. The experience of individuals, and the progressive history of nations, show that the divine rule of Christian Love lies at the root of all personal happiness and public prosperity. The light of science and the light of the Gospel converge to the same focus, and mutually support and strengthen each other. Neither persons nor nations can love themselves and hate one another, for the same law applies to both; the welfare of states and the welfare of individuals are under the same rule. In the human soul the image of Divine Love is never entirely destroyed, it is only disfigured and needs restoring; nor is there any one so fallen so depraved, but that if the soul's faculties be rightly directed he may rise again and be renewed. The soul delights in the works of nature and in the works of art, long before reflection enables it to hold commune with its Maker in the former, and to perceive the evidence of its own derived power in the latter; but when it does so, it rejoices still more, and is thus led to the contemplation of that more intimate manifestation of Divine Love in Redemption,

"Che vista sola sempre amore accende."

Without the materials for elevating his thoughts man's capacities remain undeveloped, and his mind selfishly degraded; hence for those whose only day of recreation is the Lord's-day, public museums, gardens and galleries for intellectual improvement and the education of the heart, are essential aids to places of public worship, which no Christian state should neglect to provide.

The pleasures of this life vary in proportion to our capacities for enjoyment, a rule which Divines extend to the life to come. Those of the world die out with declining days, not so those of the heart. The youthful delights of parents are revived in their offspring, and in children's children recreate once more. Nature is ever true to herself. The subject of this memoir was a stranger to these things, but his heart turned with endearing fondness to little children, he delighted to make their acquaintance, and to share in their juvenile joy.

I. V. F. M.DCCC.LXI.

(3)

THE YOUNG KING,

AND

BERTRAND DE BORN.

BY

H. C. BARLOW, M.D.

AUTHOR OF
FRANCESCA DA RIMINI, HER LAMENT AND VINDICATION;
LETTERATURA DANTESCA;
ETC. ETC. ETC.

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THE YOUNG KING AND BERTRAND DE BORN.

Che al re giovane diedi i mal conforti.
INF. XXVIII., 135.

THE Troubadours of Provence were the precursors of the early Italian poets, and their amorous and anti-papal spirit animated their successors.

Among them was one who delighted to mingle the excitements of war with the lays of love, and who acted a notorious part in English history, though our chronicles mention him not — his name was Bertrand de Born. He caused the eldest son of Henry II, prince Henry, called the young king, "*il re giovane,*" having been crowned in the life time of his father, to rebel against his much loving parent.

In the ninth bolgia of Malebolge, in which are punished the authors of scandals, divisions, civil discords, and heresies, Dante meets Bertrand carrying in his hand his severed head, because he had divided the son from the father.

Owing to the carelessness of copyists, in the great majority of manuscripts, the son, whom Ber-

trand thus separated from the paternal stem, is called king John—"*re Giovanni*," and, until recently, editors of the Divina Commedia have persisted in the error, following the text of the Crusca which has—

Che diedi al re Giovanni i ma' conforti.

An examination of SEVENTY-EIGHT codici, on this verse, in the public libraries of Italy, France, and England, gave only three examples of "*re giovane*," and one of "*re giovene*" all the others had the ordinary reading.

These four codici were the Barberini No. 1535, and the Codice No. 1534, in the same library. The Vatican codice No. 2866, in which though the text had "*re giovane*," the note to it explained "*re giovanni*"; and the Vatican codice No. 366 in which was "*re giovene*."

The reading "Re giovane" is not found in any of the early printed editions, nor is it noticed by any of the early commentators.

Ginguené (Histoire Littéraire d' Italia," vol. ii. "Notes Ajoutées". p. 570, Edit. 1811) was the first who succeeded in drawing the attention of Italian critics to the prevalent mistake, but he was not the first to mention it. Millot in his "Histoire Littéraire des Troubadours," 1774, vol. i., p. 210, had fully set forth the facts of the case, and as early as 1731, the Editor of the Venice edition of Crescimbeni "Istoria della Volgare Poesia," had noticed it in reference to the "Novelliere Antico," in which

the nineteenth novella begins thus: — "Legessi della bonta del Re giovane guerreggiando col padre per lo consiglio di Beltramo" (Edition of Bologna, 1525). And, in the following "novella," a curious story is told how "lo Re vecchio, padre di questo Re giovane," was tricked out of his wealth by the latter, and to get it back again laid siege to the castle of Bertrand in which his son had taken refuge.

"One day the elder king, the father of this young king, severely reproved him for his extravagance and asked where was his treasure. He replied, 'Sir, I have no more treasure than you have.' On which a controversy arose between them, and it was agreed that on a certain day each should exhibit what he possessed. The young king invited all the barons of the country to be present on the occasion in the place appointed. The father, when the day came, caused a rich pavilion to be erected, and all his precious things, his gold and silver vessels, and jewels of great value to be piled up within upon a carpet. Then addressing himself to his son he said — 'There is my treasure — now, where is yours?' On this the son drew forth his sword. The cavaliers whom he had collected together, hastened to the spot, so that the whole town seemed swarming with them. The elder king was unable to protect his property, and the heap of riches was taken possession of by his son, who turning to the cavaliers, said—'gentlemen now help yourselves,' which they immediately did, and the whole heap was speedily disposed of."

The novella relates in continuation that the young king, being mortally wounded on the ramparts of Bertrand's castle, was desired, before he died, to pay his debts, and having nothing to pay with, sent for a notary and formally consigned his soul to perdition unless his father would pay them for him, which he did.

By those who are very scrupulous in giving authors their due and no more, it may be deemed important to know, that although the distinguished Crescimbeni has the credit of having first alluded to the statements in these almost forgotten *novelle*, thanks to Parenti, Viviani, and others, yet the merit is entirely due to the nameless contributor of the note numbered 38 in the Venice reprint by G.B, 1731, who having received much assistance from "diversi riguardevoli Letterati" thus acknowledges his obligations without mentioning their names. It does not occur in the Roman edition of the History, published in 1714, which was the second, the first appearing in 1698; nor in the second edition of the Commentary on the History, published in 1722, which the editor G. B. followed.

The corrected reading was first printed by Buttura at Paris in 1820. Professor Parenti approved of it and defended it. Viviani in 1823 introduced it in his Edition, and gave an important note on the subject (vol. i., p. 248—251). Cesari in his "Bellezze, etc.," Verona 1824, commended it. Rosetti in 1827 adopted it; Fraticelli, Brunone Bianchi, and other recent editors have since followed it.

At first several Italian writers made a stand for

the old reading, and it is remarkable that Cary, so late as 1844, should still have preferred it, for he was well acquainted with Provençal literature, and with the facts of the history. Possibly he attached too much importance to the error of Villani in whose printed chronicles we read " il Re Giovanni," though the person described is evidently intended for his brother, Prince Henry, " Re giovane," the eldest son of King Henry II.

Henry II., the son of Matilda, the only surviving legitimate child of Henry I., who, after the death of her first husband, the Emperor Henry V. of Germany, was married to Geoffrey, Earl of Anjou, and recognized by her Father as heiress both to England and Normandy, was a powerful wise, and political sovereign. He was born in 1133, and when a youth of fifteen, at the court of his relative, David king of Scotland, greatly distinguished himself in the border warfare which he carried on against the usurper Stephen. In 1150 he became duke of Normandy. In the following year his father died. In 1152 he married the high-spirited Eleanor of Guienne, in her own right Dutchess of Aquitaine, whom the feeble-minded French king, Louis VII., had, in a fit of jealousy, divorced. Thus rising into reputation and power, with great capacity, energy, and perseverance, Henry became more than a match for the nephew of the late king, who, without

either hereditary right or national consent, had clandestinely obtained possession of the crown. But to avoid the horrors of a protracted war, it was settled that he should succeed Stephen, whose death soon followed, and in 1154 Henry became king. Then commenced the Anglo-Norman line of the Plantagenets who ruled for upwards of three hundred years. The reign of Henry II. throughout its entire course of nearly thirty-five years, was contemporaneous with that of the Emperor Frederic I. (Barbarossa) whose anti-papal spirit the English monarch shared, and divided with him the attention of all Europe. During the first four years and nine months of this period, Pope Adrian IV, Nicholas Breakspeare, occupied St. Peter's chair — the only Englishman who ever sat in it.

Lord of Anjou and Tourain in right of his father, of Normandy and Maine in that of his mother, of Guienne, Poitou, Auvergne, Perigord, Angoumois, and Limousin in right of his wife, to the realm of England he added the finest and most fertile provinces in France; he conquered Ireland, overcame Scotland, and subdued Wales, and much improved the internal state of the kingdom, so that there was no sovereign in Europe who could be compared with him for greatness and glory. Roger of Wendover and Radulfus de Diceto sensible of this, gave him a becoming genealogy, and showed that he was, on his mother's side, the forty-seventh in direct descent from Noah, the line passing through the loins of *Woden*, the fifteenth removal from that venerable Patriarch.

Personally, also, the king was a very remarkable man. Peter of Blois, Archdeacon of Bath, who had for two years been preceptor to the king's son in law, William II. of Sicily, surnamed "The Good," who married Henry's third daughter, Joanna, has left us a graphic description of him as he appeared in the midst of his moveable court, ever active, and occupied either with business or pleasure — reforming abuses, administering justice, checking clerical assumption, advancing education, disputing with the learned, for the king had a real love of books though little leisure to read them — standing on his legs from morning till night; building, fortifying, and when not fighting, hawking, and hunting; an excellent rider, tiring out the strongest men in his daily excursions, resolved to subdue by these means a corpulent tendency; rapid in all military movements, falling on his enemies before they expected him, and though mighty in war, still greater in peace; of exemplary piety, but with scarcely time to say his prayers at home, and so much sought after abroad, that during his daily attendance at the mass, his devotions were as daily interrupted by intruding petitioners.

Giraldus Cambrensis, who is quite angry with the king for taking so much violent exercise, and keeping his courtiers continually on their legs, complains bitterly that even in time of peace there is no peace either for him or for them — with the first gleam of morning light, the king mounts his horse and gallops away, across the fields, through the woods, over

the mountains, never stopping, and never indulging in any rest; and when in the evening he comes home to supper, he rarely sits down either before or after. (See Hib. Expg. apud Camden, Anglica Scripta, Francf. 1603, p. 783).

The Archdeacon of Bath, in a letter to his friend, the Archbishop of Palermo, confesses that even the pen of the Mantuan bard would be insufficient to do justice to the person and character of the King of England. In stature Henry was rather above the middle height, well proportioned and stoutly built, and had a dignified deportment. "His head," writes Peter, "is spherical, as if it were the seat of great wisdom, and the special sanctuary of deep schemes . . . . his (bluish grey) eyes are round, and while he is calm, dove-like and quiet, but, when he is angry they flash fire and are like lightning . . . . his face is lion-like, and almost square . . . . his nose projects in proportionate symmetry to the rest of his body . . . . his broad chest and brawny arms show him to be strong, active and bold . . . . he wholly neglects his hands, which are coarse and rough, and never puts on a glove save when he is hawking." The king, it appears, wore an easy dress, straight boots, and a plain hat. The short cloak of Anjou, which he introduced, obtained for him the sobriquet of "Court-mantel." His monumental effigy at Fontevrault, the earliest one of ur English monarchs, shows, according to the revived Norman custom, that he dispensed with a beard, and wore his hair short. King Henry was an eloquent and dignified speaker,

had a most retentive memory, showed great urbanity, and in his conversation was lively, facetious, versatile and witty. Giraldus who was no flatterer says of him—"Princeps eloquentissimus—et quod iis temporibus conspicuum est, literis eruditus—vir affabilis, vir flexibilis et facetius: nulli prorsus hominum, quicquid intus palliaverit urbanitate secundus." At table he was always temperate, cautious in what he ate and moderate in what he drank. His friendship was lasting, but if he took an aversion to any one he rarely again admitted the party to intimacy. Like other powerful rulers of that iron age, he could ill brook opposition or contradiction, and his anger is said at times to have risen to a fury, but these violent storms soon passed over. The charge of vindictiveness which has been brought against him is disproved by his so frequent forgiveness of his rebellious sons, and is at variance with his acknowledged piety, and extensive charity. The artful want of veracity which has been alleged of him by certain Romanists, may have been inspired by the desire to inflict on the dictator of "The Constitutions of Clarendon," a wound that time might never help to heal.

But, to continue the catalogue of the king's good qualities, as recorded by Peter of Blois—"No one is shrewder in council, more fervent in oration, more self-possessed in perils, more cautious in prosperity or firmer in adversity." "None more sincere in speech (honestior in loquendo) . . . . more splendid in gifts, more munificent in alms, so that his name is as a sweet

ointment poured out freely, and his profuse charity is spoken of in all the churches of the saints." "Our king is pacific in heart, victorious in war, glorious in peace. Above every other good of this world he seeks to procure for his people the blessings of peace. Hence all his thoughts are turned this way. Whatever he meditates, whatever he speaks, whatever he acts has peace for its purpose. His most anxious and incessant labours, the councils he calls, the public acts he confirms, the friendships he forms, his humiliation of the proud, the threats he holds out, the terrors he menaces, all have the peace of his people for their aim and object." "No one is more kind to the afflicted, more affable to the poor, more overbearing to the arrogant: for, as with a certain impress of Divinity, he studies always to bring down the haughty, to lift up the oppressed, and against the high-swelling of pride to raise perpetual prosecutions and troubles. (See Petri Blesensis, Epistola LXVI., Patrologia cursus completus. Acc. J. P. Migne. Paris 1855. Tom. 207, cl. 195; also Pet. Bles. Opera Omnia. Ed. Giles, LL.D. Oxford, 1847. Vol. I., in Patres Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ).*

Henry's intense love for his children is dwelt upon even by those who did not, like Peter of Blois, honour him in their hearts. Giraldus says—"To his sons in their boyhood he showed more than a

* See "Ancient collections of Private Letters, 11th and 12th centuries," in Quarterly Review, 1837, vol. lviii, pp. 457—9; and "The Character and Court of Henry II." by the Rev. W. W. Shirley, Gent. Mag., Feb. 1862.

father's affection." This love is alike the subject of history and romance. By his wife, Eleanor, he had five sons and three daughters.* The eldest son, William, died young: Henry, born in London, February 28, 1155, was early betrothed to Margaret, daughter of Louis VII. by his second wife, Constance of Castile, and the little pair were married, says Hoveden, when they were but children crying in their cradles Matilda, born 1156, was married to Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony; Richard, the knight-errant king, was born in 1157; the turbulent Geoffrey in 1158, and was killed in a tournament at Paris in 1186; Eleanor was born in 1162, and married to Alphonso III. of Castile; Joanna married as already stated, was born in 1165; the atrocious John in 1166. To secure the throne to his son Henry, as the succession was not then thoroughly established in principle, the king had him crowned at the age of sixteen, at Westminster, June 15, 1170. Previously to the ceremony his father knighted him, and at the banquet which followed, handed a dish to

* Some authorities have given Henry II. a sixth son named Philip, a fabulous personage, though honest John Speed, who placed him after Geoffrey, believed in his reality through the faith he had in a certain Mr. Thomas Talbot, "an exact travailer in genealogies," who had certified to his birth, but nothing is known of him. Matthew of Westminster (Flores Historiarum, Lond. 1570,) summing up the king's legitimate children says—(lib. ii., p. 61)—"Iste Henricus genuit filios et filias, scilicet Gulihelmum qui puer obijt, Henricum juniorem regem, Richardum regem, Matilda, Galfridium, Alienoram, Johannam, Johannum." But according to Radulfus de Diceto (Imagines Historiarum. *Camden Anglia Scripta*) and to Brompton, apud Twysden, Matilda was born before Richard.

him at table, when being complimented by Roger, Archbishop of York, at such royal favour, the arrogant youth, who had once been under the tuition of Becket, then about to return from exile, replied "It is no great act of condescension for the son of an Earl to serve the son of a king." But the sprig of broom (*planta genista*) which the good Earl Geoffrey was wont to stick in his hat, had then become a badge of royalty equal to any crown.

The coronation of a son during a father's life time had not occurred before since the union of the Heptarchy, and, after this reign, did not occur again. Neither did it in France after the time of Philip Augustus, when a more settled principle of hereditary right to the crown in a lineal descent prevailed in both countries. (Lyttelton's Hist. of Henry II. vol. ii., p. 551). The prince, now the young king, "*il re giovane*," to please the king of France was crowned again at Winchester, in 1172, along with his wife Margaret. Henry II. at one time intended to have the youngest son, John, crowned king of Ireland, but he was not. According to Hoveden, in the year 1177, by the concession and confirmation of Pope Alexander III., King Henry, in a general council at Oxford, constituted John King of Ireland. But it appears from records that John took only the title of Lord of Ireland (Dominus Hiberniæ); nor did his father, though he there exercised royal authority, then assume any other. Yet before John went into Ireland in 1185, Henry had asked Pope Lucian III. to agree to the coronation of his

son, but he refused. Urban III., however, granted the king a bulla in virtue of which he was permitted to have any one of his sons, whom he might choose, crowned king of Ireland, and sent him an ornamental coronet of peacocks' feathers interwoven with gold, as a mark of his especial favour. On John having been named to the Pope, Cardinal Octaviano was sent from Rome to England to perform the ceremony, but when he arrived, Decr. 26, 1186, the King had then changed his intention. (See Lyttelton's History, vol. iii., p. 439).

Several Italian commentators have shown an almost incredible ignorance of English history by stating King John to be the son of King Richard. This is found in the commentary ascribed to Peter, the eldest son of Dante, which is one of those printed by Lord Vernon; the words in reference to Bertrand are—"dissensionen similem commisit inter regem Richardum anglicum, et Joannem regem, dictum regem juvenem, ejus filium, illi discordiæ, quam fecit Achitophel inter David et Absalon." In the Vendeliniana, the Nidobèatina, and the Ottimo the same statement occurs. Benvenuto da Imola, usually more trustworthy in historical matters, also states that Giovanni was called "il Re giovane," but that he was the son of King Henry. Buti however gives him Richard for his father. Landino, Vellutello, and Daniello in part, follow Benvenuto. Dante's literary

contemporaries and successors would seem to have been aware that he alluded to the young king "*il re giovane,*" but they made a mistake in his name, and some also in his parentage. This they derived from the poetry and romance of that period, which had come to be received in the place of real history.

Dante, who wrote his Divina Commedia for the Italian people, occasionally availed himself of the popular credence, though not strictly in accordance with the results of historical research, and his commentators have done the same thing. But we must not thence infer that Dante did not know better. In the case of "*il re giovane,*" Dante made Bertrand's shade speak as Bertrand himself, if living, would have done in reference to the eldest son of Henry II., not to the youngest; and what he does say infers a long continued opposition, such as history relates, not a sudden and unexpected turning against the father, as was the rebellion of John when, in 1188, he joined his brother Richard, and by his immense ingratitude caused the monarch's death. The parallel between David and Absalom holds only between Henry and his eldest son. The name of Giovanni was never heard in this narrative until after Dante had written his great poem, as Professor Parenti has well remarked in his able article on this passage. "Memorie di Religione, di Morale, e di Letteratura," (vol iii. Modena, 1823), and he thinks it arose from the mistake of some copyist, as I shall presently show, and that thus Giovanni Villani was led into error.

Dante was familiar with the writings of the Provençal Poet Bertrand de Born, and mentions him with honour in his "Volgari Eloquio" (lib. ii. c. 2). In a serventese by him, the eldest son of Henry II. is repeatedly called "il Jove Rei" (*il re giovane*), and the warrior poet, lamenting over his death, describes him as a prince of great liberality, courtesy. and kindness, qualities ascribed by Villani and others to "*il re Giovanni*."

Villani says (l.v., c. 4) "This king John was the most courteous gentleman in the world, and was led to make war on his father by one of his barons, but he died young and left no heir. After king John reigned king Richard." It is obvious from this passage that the chronicler has made a mistake only in the name. Prince Henry, "il Re giovane" died young, in 1183, and left no heir. Richard I. succeeded Henry II., and as the young king had enjoyed the title along with his father, Richard may be said to have succeeded him also. John who succeeded Richard left several children, the eldest of whom became Henry III.

Two codici in the British Museum Library, No. 3488 of the Harleian collection, and No. 932 of the Egerton, help to show how the error arose. In the first of these the verse is written

Che diedi alre giovani mai conforti,

in the second

Che diedi a re giovani mal conforti,

The scribes of the middle ages had no hesitation in

joining letters which ought to have been kept separate, and in leaving out vowels without indicating their absence. The junction of the plural article *i* with the adjective *giovan*, the *e* being omitted, was sufficient to beget a whole family of errors. A copyist having the first example before him, and unacquainted with English history, might have thought that "Re Giovanni" was meant, and that the additional *n*, or the mark over to indicate its absence, had been omitted by negligence, so, resolving to be more careful himself, he wrote the verse either with the supposed full complement of letters, or with the mark over the single *n* to mark the absence of the other. It is worthy of remark that the codice, in the Barberini library, No. 1535, in which we read "re giovane," was written by a diligent student of Dante. In the late ducal library at Modena there was a codice of the poem in which the verse ran thus—

Che diede al Re giovine mal conforti;

It may possibly be there still. Professor Parenti says it was the only codice noticed by Montfaucon in his Italian diary, who wrote of it "Codex egregie descriptus, auctori pene æqualis." The professor thinks this may have been a copy from Dante's own autograph, procured by the illustrious house of Este, and so carefully preserved that the text was never copied. Like other precious treasures it was taken to Paris, but recovered again on the dispersion of the Imperial spoils. That *giovine* may have been

written by Dante for *giovane*, is shown to be probable from the partiality which he had for Latin forms of words, and by the examples of a similar substitution met with in his poem as "*giovinetto*" and "*giovinetta*" for *giovanetto* and *giovanetta*. The word "*giovine*" has a small *g*, all the proper names in this codice have capitals. The grammar also, "*diede*" for *diedi*, the third person instead of the first is preferable, and Parenti is of opinion, that if the amanuensis did not copy from Dante's own writing, or if this reading was not Dante's, he must have been as clever in his day as was Monsieur Ginguené nearly five centuries later. But copyists do not mend, they only mar.

In the Vatican codice No. 366, already noticed, we have

> Che diedi al re Giovene i mal conforti;

which is another very rare form of the word, but one that will not admit of so much being said in its favour, as that discovered by Professor Parenti.

When we turn to our own noble old chroniclers, men who stand out like giants in this early age of reviving literature, to Roger of Hoveden, who is very circumstantial in matters touching the young king, to Gervase, to Roger of Wendover, and others, we find an overwhelming amount of evidence to prove that none but "*Henricus Rex, junior, filius Regis Henrici*" was or could be meant, (see "De Antiq.

Leg. Lib. App. p. 198") who though he possessed no real authority in England, did not scruple to affirm that he reigned by the grace of God, and not by the indulgence of his father. This is shown in an epistle given by Gervase, which the prince addressed to the Prior of Canterbury Cathedral, and which begins thus—"Henricus *Dei gratia*, *Rex* Angliæ, *et Dux* Normanniæ, *et Comes* Andegaviæ *Regis* Henrici *filius*, etc. etc." (See Chron. Gervasii apud Twysden col. 1425.)

King Henry, the father, was very anxious about his continental dominions, and well he might be, for they were the source of all his subsequent troubles. He had been very ambitious of territory, and some of these domains had been acquired without reflecting that unjust acquisitions rarely increase strength. The kings of France, naturally jealous that the finest provinces should be held by England, especially the more important of them which had been severed from the French crown through the conduct of Queen Eleanor, were resolved to get them back again, if not by fair fighting, at least by intrigue, and exciting divisions in Henry's family. Unfortunately the monarch was not free from blame, there were causes of domestic discord, which the French king could easily turn to his own advantage, and he did so, as well under the mask of a pretended friendship as without it.

Queen Eleanor, little disposed to concede to her royal partner the privilege of having children by other women when she herself had ceased to bear

him any, (which, if historians do not wrong that haughty lady, showed as little generosity as good sense,) was easily induced by the French king to kindle strife against her husband. Under 1172, Roger of Wendover says (*Flores Historiarum*. Ed. Coxe, Lond. 1841, vol. ii., p. 367) "Eodem tempore, rege Anglorum moram faciente in Hibernia, Hugo de Seinte More (Sancta-Maura) et Radulphus de Faie, avunculus Alienor reginæ, consilio ipsius, ut dicitur, regis Henrici junioris animum cœperunt avertere a patre suo, asserentes, incongruum videri regem quemlibet esse et dominationem in regno debitam non habere." The "ut dicitur" shows that the historian doubted this origin of the estrangement, and well he might. Eleanor, with all her errors, was by far too clever, voluntarily to seek her own ruin; but her woman's jealousy was easily roused into action by the intriguing artifices of the French king, and her anger fanned into a flame, which cost her the loss of her personal liberty, and contributed to the successful issue of the French schemes.

There were faults on both sides. William Longespee, Earl of Salisbury, the king's eldest son by Fair Rosamond, daughter of Walter de Clifford, and his youngest, Geoffery, Bishop of Lincoln, afterwards Archbishop of York, the one a pattern of valour and prudence, the other of filial love and piety, were far better sons than any born to him by Eleanor; this fact is sufficient censure, we may well spare her the severe sentence of a modern legal historian. The living form of that slender, elegant and graceful

figure, so delicate, so placid, and so noble, which in the Abbey of Fontevrault, reclined by the side of the brave and burly king, and whose loving hand had helped him to his throne, might rise up in judgment against old Speed for calling her "the first cause of those bloudie warres, which long after continued as hereditary betwixt *England* and *France*, yea and the billows of that unnatural discord betwixt her husband and her sonnes" (p. 478. Edit. Lond. 1611). Baker, in his chronicle, is here more correct. The whole of Eleanor's guilty influence on her children, in the great conspiracy of the French king, in 1173, against the English monarch, was probably limited, as Roger of Wendover intimates, to the counsel she gave Richard and Geoffrey to follow the example of their brother, rather than to stand by their father, whom she also had deserted. His words are "Eodem anno rex Henricus juvenis in consilio abiens impiorum animum suum a patre divertit, et ad socerum suum regem Francorum secessit; quo facto, Richardus dux Aquitanniae et Gaufridus comes Britanniæ, consilio matris suæ, ut dicebatur, Alienor reginæ, fratrem potius elegerunt sequi quam patrem" (vol. ii., p. 369)—but even this is put forth with a qualifying "ut dicebatur."

The very precautions also, which Henry took in providing for the successions to the French provinces, by naming his sons to them in his lifetime, yet withholding the authority which the titles set forth, furnished the French king with fresh opportunities for carrying out his schemes, which he was not slow to seize on.

In the year that prince Henry was first crowned (1170) the king falling seriously ill, divided, says Hoveden, his French dominions among his sons. To Richard (then fourteen) he gave the Dutchy of Aquitaine and all the lands which he received with his mother Queen Eleanor; to Geoffrey, (aged thirteen) he gave Brittany; to Henry, the young king, he gave Normandy and all the lands which had belonged to his own father, Geoffrey, the Earl of Anjou; to John then an infant (of only three years) he gave the earldom of Mortaigne. But the king recovered, and the territories remained to the sons in expectancy. In France King Henry had many enemies, and some also in England, for he had put down with a high hand the titled robbers of the country and destroyed their strong holds. The young king, who was of a reckless and extravagant disposition was easily induced to follow the evil council of his father in law, and others, who urged him to demand possession of some one or more of the countries the titles of which he bore, as of Normandy, or of Anjou, or England, and from that time (1173) he sought pretexts and opportunities for withdrawing from the king his father, and so opposed his wishes that he could no longer converse with him on any subject in a pacific manner. "Et jam animum suum à voluntate ipsius ita declinaverat, ut nihil cum eo pacifice loqui potuisset"—words which too plainly show how the poison administered had affected his mind and heart.

It was after Easter in this year, that the king of

France effected that formidable combination against Henry in which all his sons joined, save John who was a mere child, and nearly all the earls and barons of England (see Hoveden in loco). It is painful to read of the cabals of King Henry's sons, sometimes they were at war with one another, sometimes combined against their loving parent; an unnatural sentiment seemed their only bond of union. But wherever we find them, either together or divided, and whatever the combinations may be, there is the French monarch backing them up, and either openly or secretly working out his purpose. In his hand, Queen Eleanor seems a mere tool the more effectually to ruin Henry, and destroy the English influence in France. To suppose that the king, at any time, for the sake of peace, set his sons against each other, as Giraldus Cambrensis maliciously said, though often repeated, will not stand the test of inquiry, is not borne out by facts, nor warranted by circumstances, is, in truth, as foolish as it is unjust, and at variance with the well known paternal, forgiving, and indulgent character of the king, on whom it reads like a vile calumny.

In the domestic afflictions, and the adversities of war which befell the monarch, pious writers pointed to the tomb of Becket, and viewed them as divine dispensations sent to punish him for the violent death of that intolerant prelate; but after the king had done penance at the martyr's shrine, (1174) and fortune once more turned her wheel in Henry's favour, then the forgiving spirit of the murdered

man was supposed to rise up propitious to his prayers, and to serve him again as in the days when Becket was his warlike chancellor, and they were both good friends together.

The criminal excesses of the young king eventually threw him into a fever, attended with ulceration of the intestines, and he died, aged twenty-eight, in the villa Mantel, near Limoges, June 11, 1183. As death approached, he was seized with the most bitter remorse, and his miserable end was a lesson to all undutiful children. It was also an example of the force of early religious impressions. Frightened to leave its frail tenement, and face the terrors of offended Deity, the distressed soul, sought, in the hour of dissolution, to atone for the guilt of many years.

To calm his agonized conscience, "The young king summoned to his bedside the bishops and religious men who were at his court, and first privately, and then in the presence of all, confessed his sins and received the sacrament of penitence and absolution. He then gave to William Marshall, one of his household, his cross to bear to Jerusalem in his stead. After that he put off his royal raiment and covered himself with sackcloth. Then, taking a rope which had been brought to him, he put it round his neck, and said to the ecclesiastics who were about him—'an abject, culpable, and wretched sinner, by this cord I deliver myself up to you the ministers of God, entreating that our Lord Jesus Christ, who, on the Cross, remitted to the penitent thief his sins, through your prayers, and by his own ineffable mercy,

would have compassion on my most miserable soul'
—to which earnest prayer all present said 'Amen.'
'Now,' continued the dying prince, 'drag me by this cord from the bed, and lay me on the floor among the ashes'—which he had there caused to be prepared for him, and they did as he commanded, and placed his head and his feet on two large square stones."

"He then directed that his body should be buried at Rouen, and having given these last instructions, and been strengthened with the Viaticum of the holy body and blood of Christ, he breathed forth his spirit in the fear of the Lord—in timore Domini emisit spiritum." (See Hoveden.)

The young king during his fatal illness had expressed a desire to see his father, but it was not considered prudent for the king to trust himself in his power, and his father sent him a ring in token of forgiveness. On the first announcement of his death, Henry could not believe it, but, when made certain of the fact, he fainted away thrice, and, on coming to himself, gave vent to the most immoderate lamentations.* Hoveden's reflections on this subject do him honour—"Gaudent omnes, cuncti lætantur, solus pater plangit filium." All others rejoiced, the king alone bewailed his wretched son—"Why, glorious father, dost thou bewail him? he was no son of thine, who could do such violence to thy fatherly affection." One might almost think

* In the "Vita et gestis Henrici II. Angliæ Regis. Frag. ex Bened. Petroburgensis Abb. Rerum Gallicarum et Francicarum Scriptores. Tom. xvii. p. 436 ; the details will be found.

that Dante must have read what the Professor of Theology at Oxford here wrote of King Henry, it is so suggestive of the comparison which the Poet has drawn—

> Io feci 'l padre e 'l figlio in se ribelli:
> Achitofel non fe' più d'Absalone
> E di David coi malvagi pungelli.
>
> INF. xxviii. 136—9.

But this simile was familiar with the writers of the time. William Parvus (Hist. Rer. Ang. Ed. Hamilton, lib. ii., p. 164) under the year 1173 has an allusion to it—"Francorum igitur virulentissimis adhortationibus animatus atque instigatus in patrem, quo minus jus violaret naturæ, exemplo non est territus scelestissimi Absalonis."

On this occasion Peter of Blois addressed the king. He had formerly written two letters to the young king to restrain him from making war against his father, the date of the first of these is somewhat uncertain, it may have been in 1173, it is in the name and impersonation of the Archbishop of Rouen (Epist. xxxii.); the second (Epist. xlvii.) is of 1174 (so Migne and Giles) and is in the name of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the subject is the same, and excommunication is threatened if the young king does not give up his wicked designs.* Now,

* These Letters will be found in the Patres Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ: Petri Blesensis Barthoniensis Archidiaconi, Opera Omnia. Ed. J. A. Giles, LL.D., vol. i., p. 110 and p. 141. Also in the great French work—Patrologiæ c. compl. Tom. 207. In the Rer. Gall. et Franc. Script. Tom. xix., the dates assigned to these two letters are 1182 and 1182-3.

that this son was no more, and the father's grief excessive for his loss, the pious churchman turned with Christian love to comfort and console the royal heart. The letter written to the king (Epist. ii. apud Giles) commences by gently reproving him for his immoderate sorrow, as unworthy the hopes and faith of a Christian. The son's life afforded no topics adapted to the occasion, but in the circumstances of his death there was much that might be urged in mitigation of the monarch's grief, these the Archdeacon of Bath notices in his own unctuous manner, encouraging the monarch to regard the example of his son's death as proof that heaven had heard his prayer, and received his soul into everlasting rest—"Exemplum dedit vobis, ut et vos sequamini vestigia pœnitentis. Nemo enim fuit in confessione humilior, in sui accusatione contritior, in emendatione devotior, in propriæ carnis afflictione crudelior, in omni satisfactione ferventior . . . . Quum igitur de salute ejus spem certissimam habeamus: beati enim qui in Domino moriuntur, ut voce apostoli utar, nolite contristari de dormiente, sicut et illi qui spem non habent. Omne judicium jam evasit: judicavit enim seipsum, ne in posterum judicetur. Utinam, amantissime Princeps, dum hoc sæculum manet, imo potius dum hoc sæculum manat, judicemus nosmetipsos: fallax enim est hic mundus, vita brevis, finis dubius, exitus horribilis, judex terribilis, pœna infinibilis"—the good archdeacon appears here to have had a double object in view, to frighten his majesty, for his own sake, as

well as to console him for the sake of his son—"Planctus itaque, quos impenditis mortuo, in arma pœnitentiæ convertatis: ut sicut turbato fatalitatis ordine filius vos præcessit ad mortem, sic ordinato hujus mortalitatis excursu cæteros præcedatis ad vitam."

The contrite soul of Manfred exclaims,

> Orribil furon li peccati miei;
> Ma la Bontà infinita ha sì gran braccia,
> Che prende ciò, che si rivolge a lei.
>
> PURG. iii., 121-3.

And so it might be with this penitent "Re giovane."

The young king's life, says Roger of Wendover, was "cut off like a thread, and with it the hopes of many"—among them those of Bertrand de Born. Matthew of Westminster thus records the event (Flor. Hist. Edit. 1570. lib. ij., p. 57).

> "Anno gratiæ, MCLXXXIII. obijt, delectabilis indolis, rex Henricus junior, filius regis Henrici secundi in die sancti Barnabæ apostoli, qui primò Cenomannijs est sepultus, deinde Rotomag."

Capgrave (Lib. de Illus. Henricis. Rer. Britt. Medii Ævi Script. Lond. 1858) gives the same sentence, and quotes the Latin verses in his praise, which we find in the Chronicle of Brompton (Hist. Angl. Scrip. Antiq. Ed. Twysden, 1652)—"de quo quidam sic metrice cecinet—

> Omnis honoris honos, decor et decus urbis et orbis:
> Militæ splendor, gloria, lumen, apex,
> Julius ingenio, virtutibus Hector, Achilles
> Viribus, Augustus moribus, ore Paris."

Thus rendered by the Editor of Capgrave—

> Our country's honour; glory of the world:
> Splendour of knighthood! shrewd as Julius,
> And brave as Hector: as Achilles strong:
> Lovely as Paris: as Augustus good.

Expressions that may well be applied to the worthy father, not to the worthless son. But, possibly, these verses may have been the merest court flattery, put forth by the Poet Laureate of those days, to please his sacred majesty the King. Italian commentators no less than historians have fallen into the mistake; thus Benvenuto says of him—"Heic nota, quod juvenis fuit quasi alter Titus Vespasiani filius, qui teste Suetonio dictus est *amor et deliciæ generis humani*. Et fuit literalissimus, pulcherrima, schemata semper faciens." The last words alone would seem to be true.

Among those French intriguers who, to advance their own interests, fomented the dissensions in Henry's family, Bertrand de Born, the lord of Hautefort in the diocese of Perigueux, holds a conspicuous place—he was the bosom friend of "*il re giovane*," and they would appear to have been well matched.

Of Bertrand it might truly have been said—

> La vostra nominanza è color d'erba,

had not Dante immortalized his memory by introducing him among the damned. Though a bold and

politic warrior in his day, and not undeserving of note for his poetic talent, yet, rejected by History, and ignored in the records of Literature, his fame would long since have withered like the grass, had not the Poet thus rescued his name from oblivion.

Measured by the standard of those chivalric days, Bertrand appears as a hero and something more. If he could not overcome his enemies with a sword, he attacked them with a sonnet, or serventese, in which he was more successful; and as he wielded both equally well, he became, if not a formidable antagonist, at least a very troublesome one.

To the usual amount of gallantry expected in a Troubadour, Bertrand combined, with his poetic skill, a fearlessness of danger, and a hatred of peace. In this he had many imitators; but few excelled him in suppleness of spirit united with pride, by which, when hard pressed, he would yield gracefully to a generous sentiment, and thus get the better of his adversary. In theory, justice was a fundamental principle of chivalry, but not in practice. By the majority of these high-minded heroes it was, in fact, very little regarded; to them their own head-strong passions dictated what was right or wrong, without reference to any abstract principles however good they might be. Bertrand de Born was of this number. The lordship of Hautefort numbered about a thousand souls, and was the joint inheritance of Bertrand and his brother Constantine, but Bertrand coveted the whole, and considered himself greatly injured at not being allowed to possess it. After

an obstinate contest, he succeeded in driving out his brother. The expelled Constantine had recourse to the Vicomte de Limoges, the Comte de Perigord, and the Seigneur de Montagnac, who laid siege to the castle, and put the garrison and their master to flight.

But scarcely had the allies quitted the locality, when Bertrand returned and besieged his brother. Friends negociated an accommodation between them, which was soon arranged, Constantine being of an amiable disposition and a friend to peace. But the faithless Bertrand speedily again drove his brother out. This treason took place on a Monday, and the Provençal historian, who has recorded the important fact, remarks that Monday was commonly reputed an unlucky day.

The brother again found powerful friends: the Vicomte de Limoges, and Richard, Comte de Poitou, King Henry's son, suspended their own quarrels to take up that of the injured Constantine, and sacked the domains of Bertrand, who could only retaliate with a serventese, in which he represents himself as a much injured person, fully resolved to defend his interests and those of his children against all foes however potent and powerful they might be.

"Peace agrees not with me, war only has the right to please me. My sole law is to fear nothing. I care neither for Mondays, nor for Tuesdays. All days are alike to me, weeks, months and years. Perdition to all who would injure me. Were they three, whatever their power, they will not gain an inch of land from me. Right or wrong I will cede nothing of the territory of Hautefort—It is mine.

let them make against me as much war as they like—I should pass for a vile coward were I to yield up the portion my brother demands."

The Abbé Millot remarks, that the children of Henry II., after having exacted from him the possession of certain lands and castles, quarrelled and fought among themselves; but he is wrong in saying that, for the sake of peace, their royal father fomented these dangerous disorders, so injurious to his own interests, and pregnant with advantages to the French monarch. Richard had an especial motive for revenge upon Bertrand, who was the bosom friend of the young king, on whom he had made war; but Bertrand formed a formidable combination against him with young Henry at its head. Richard by his address detached his brother from the league and dispersed the threatened storm. He then turned all his force against Bertrand. To punish his versatile friend, "il Re giovane," the Troubadour composed a violent *serventese* upon him; but his poetic talent availed not to turn aside the sword of Richard, to whom he was forced to surrender his castle. Richard, though a bad son, had some generosity in his soul; and having taken Hautefort, embraced and pardoned its defender. Bertrand, touched by his clemency, had still the courage to sing, and poured forth the praises of the conqueror, and his own protestations of fidelity at the same time.

The three quarrelsome sons of King Henry having again revolted, Bertrand sought to renew his relations

with the young king, when death carried him off. Overcome with grief at the disappointment, the Troubadour sought to relieve his mind by composing two popular poetic plaints in the young king's praise. In these he says—

"I am devour'd by chagrin which will finish only with my life. There is now no more pleasure for me — I have lost the very best of princes. In recalling his generous character to mind, his manners so obliging, his person so handsome, and his doings so honest, I am ready to choke with pain and sorrow. Never was there a more gracious lord, more affable and ever ready to render a servicc. What order and what magnificence were seen in his mansion! There one was always well received, and found good cheer and worthy company. Fêtes and diversions were without end renewed. Great God! and Thou hast taken all this away from the age, the wickedness of which well merits the privation .. . . . Amiable Prince! whoe'er hath had the happiness to know thee, in grief and silence now should end his days . . . Ah cruel death! thou mayest boast indeed of having slain the noblest cavalier that ever lived."

From the character of the Troubadour, we may judge how the young king merited what his friend here said of him.

But the affairs of Bertrand were destined to take another turn; his treacherous conduct in setting the young king against his father was at length threatened with the chastisement it so amply deserved. The monarch, aware of his evil practices, set forth in person to punish him. The castle of Hautefort was besieged and taken with all its garrison, and Bertrand was brought a prisoner before the King. "'*Hé bien!*' exclaimed Henry, '*c'est donc*

vous qui vous vantiez d'avoir une fois plus d'esprit qu'il ne vous en falloit?' 'J'ai eu droit de le dire en un tems,' replied the prisoner; '*mais en perdant le jeune roi votre fils, j'ai perdu tout ce que j'avois d'esprit, de raison et d' habileté.*' Henry shed tears at the name of his son. '*Ah! Bertrand,*' he cried, '*malheureux Bertrand, il est bien juste que vous ayez perdu l'esprit en perdant mon fils; car il vous aimoit uniquement. Et moi, pour l'amour de lui, je vous rends votre liberté, vos biens, votre château; je vous rends mes bonnes graces et mon amitié: je vous donne de plus cinq cents marcs pour réparer le mal que je vous ai fait.*' Bertrand threw himself at the feet of the King and swore to him an unbounded attachment" — (see Millot). It is to be hoped that he kept to these professions — the generous Monarch deserved all his gratitude. One can only wish that the story may be true, it is so well worthy of being believed.

Bertrand de Born was in his generation, and after it, a very fortunate man; every calamity, which his unbridled conduct drew down upon him, passed off leaving him more prosperous than before; and the vengeance of king Henry, which threatened to annihilate him, was dexterously turned by the Troubadour to his permanent advantage.

Dante, however, did not forgive him, and it was well for him that he did not—in this also Bertrand de Born obtained more than he deserved.

The end of the great and good King was sad indeed. He died of grief in his 58th year, in the

Chateau de Chinon, near Saumur, July 6, 1189, on learning the astounding fact, that his favourite son John had also lifted up his hand in rebellion against him. King Henry's most noble monument will be found in "The Constitutions of Clarendon" (1164) but he is better known and remembered for having brought justice home to every man's door in England by the establishment of Judicial circuits and assizes.

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IL GRAN RIFIUTO,

Inf. iii, 58-63.

WHAT IT WAS, WHO MADE IT, AND HOW FATAL

TO

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A DISSERTATION ON VERSES FIFTY-EIGHT TO SIXTY-THREE OF THE THIRD CANTO OF THE INFERNO.

BY

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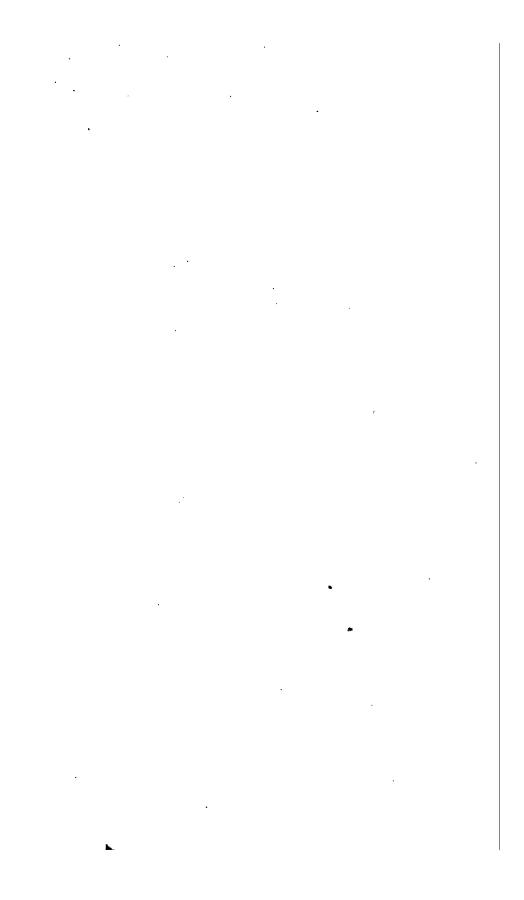
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IL GRAN RIFIUTO.

Poscia ch' io v' ebbi alcun riconosciuto,
  Guardai, e vidi l' ombra di colui
  Che fece, per viltate, il gran rifiuto.
Incontanente intesi, e certo fui,
  Che quest' era la setta dei cattivi,
  A Dio spiacenti ed a' nemici sui.

INFERNO, *canto* iii, *verses* 58 *to* 63.

In that dread roar of cries, and sighs, and shrieks, and groans, and curses which the vault of Hell re-echoed as Dante approached the margin of its dark abyss, was heard a sound of wail so overwhelming, that the Poet paused to ask his conductor who they were whom grief thus overcame. He is told they are the shades of those who had done neither good nor evil, who had lived without blame and without praise, and that they are mingled with the quire of wicked angels, who, in the celestial rebellion, neither fought for God, nor against Him, "ma per se foro". Then, looking around him, Dante sees a long troop of souls preceded by a flag rushing through the starless air with great rapidity, and having recognised several of these whom he had personally known, his attention is drawn to one in particular, whom he no sooner

perceives than, immediately, he is aware who and what they are—

> la setta de' cattivi
> A Dio spiacenti ed a' nemici sui.

There is here a progression in turpitude. First come those contemptible beings who leave no name either for good or for ill, and are envious of all who do. Next we have the depraved cowardly angels, and, in the same category of baseness with them, are these "cattivi" hateful alike to God and to his enemies, the distinct representative of whom is that nameless individual—

> Che fece, per viltate, il gran rifiuto.

Dante never divulged who this person was; he is the type of a sect for which the Poet expresses the utmost contempt, and who are equally displeasing to God and to his enemies. Not even his own son Pietro knew who this shade was meant for, he only believed that it was intended for Celestin V., who, from a praying recluse, having been raised, much against his will, in 1294, to the dignity of Pope, was craftily induced by the Cardinal Gaetano, for the good of the Church and of his own soul, to renounce it, which he speedily did, and returned to his hermit mode of living. This pious soul, well known for his sanctity as Pietro da Morrone in the Abruzzi, was not only revered in his lifetime for holiness of character and power of working miracles, but in 1313, was made a Romish Saint.

Modern commentators are satisfied with holding Celestin to be the person intended, but it was not so with them of old. The writer of the Ottimo will not venture on his own authority to affirm that Celestin is meant, and refers to him only with "*vuole alcun dire*". Boccaccio remarks—"*Chi costui fosse non si sa assai certo.*" He mentions two opinions, one, that Pietro Morrone was meant, another, that Esau, who sold his birth-right, was intended, but prefers the former, seeking to excuse Dante for putting a saint in Hell, by remarking that he had not been canonized when Dante wrote. This excuse, however, will not now serve, for it has been shown that the Inferno, as we have it now, was not finished till after 1313. Benvenuto da Imola is very positive that Dante neither did nor could mean Celestin—"*Sed breviter, quidquid dicatur, mihi videtur quod auctor nullo modo loquatur nec loqui possit de Cœlestino. Primo quia licet Cœlestinus fecerit maximam renunciationem, non tamen ex vilitate fecit, immo ex magnanimitate.*" In this opinion the majority of commentators are agreed, and it was also that of Petrarca, than whom there could not be a better judge. In his "Trattato di vita solitaria", he praises Celestin for this act—"*che per nobiltà d'animo, e non per viltà, havesse abbandonato il mondo, e se fosse dato alla contemplatione di Dio*" (see the passage as noticed by Daniello).

In the "Nidobeatina" we read as an original note, not found in the "Vendeliniana"—"Non è da credere che Dante intendesse di questo, Fra Piero, lo quale è

canonizato per Santo. Ma intese di Diocletiano Imperatore, che rifiutò l'Imperio, secondo Eutropio" (lib. ix). Buti also protests against ascribing *"viltate"* to Celestin—"ma quanto alla verità non fu così, che per viltà rinunciasse, ma per vera umiltà" Landino suggests that the Poet may have left this an open question, not intending any one individual in particular. Venturi objected to Esau, chiefly because alluded to in Pard. viij, 130, as characteristic of reprobates, and since Dante could not have known him; but though, with Vellutello and Daniello, he thought that Celestin was meant, yet he considered his renunciation as the result of greatness of mind, not of viltà. Volpi in naming Celestin had also doubts on the subject, adding *"come alcuni vogliono"*. Giovanni Villani, Machiavelli, and others who have written about Celestin, have regarded him with veneration, and spoken of him with respect. During his lifetime he was much sought after for his sanctity, and many desired to follow the rules of the order of Celestins which he established. When he had passed the full measure of human life, at the age of 79, or as others state 72, he was certainly unfitted by his years, no less than by his retired and meditative habits, for the government of the church to which he had been chosen.

After his abdication, as many christians held him to be the true Pope and his successor an usurper, Bonifazio put him in prison, where he soon died, not without suspicion of having been murdered, and when

the body, which, by the Pope's orders, had been buried deep to avoid discovery, was brought to light, a nail was found to have been driven through the skull (see Bosso 'Storia d'Italia', V. xv, l. v, c. 12).

As Bonifazio VIII became Dante's political enemy, the resignation of Celestin has been regarded as having had a remote influence on the ruin of the Poet and his party. But Celestin in renouncing an office for which he was unfitted and never ought to have been chosen, acted conscientiously, and showed that he preferred the good of the church, and of his own soul above all worldly considerations. What he did was done for the love of God, and therefore he cannot be intended as the type of those who are especially hateful to Him. The state of mind which the rules of his order inculcated, divine contemplation, was surely too intimately associated with Dante's own heaven, for him to personify their author as the chief of the *cattivi*. We must remember that Dante was himself a contemplative theologian. Well may Barcellini, in his "Industrie Filologiche", exclaim—"On what grounds could Dante, who merits the title of Theological Poet, imagine that, by his rinunciation, Celestin sinned like that wicked and slothful servant whom we read of in the Gospel."

In fact it is not probable that the individual here alluded to by Dante was a member of any religious order. The Poet no where shows a vindictive antipathy to the religious orders. It is believed, at one time, that he had the intention of joining them. But

these "cattivi" with their *capo squadro* are the special objects of his most withering scorn. What this shade was, so also were they, for all followed the same banner, which was not that of the Church.

Dante left on record, that he considered his election to the office of Prior of the Republic, which he held from June 15th to August 15th, 1300, to have been the occasion and beginning of all his troubles. This was nearly six years after Bonifazio became Pope. He does not charge the pontiff with having originated them, much less his emissary Carlo di Valois, but rather his fellow citizens,

Li cittadin della città partita.

It is to the *discordia* prevailing among these, and more especially to the conduct of *la parte selvaggia*, the *Bianchi*, or moderate Guelfs, with whom Dante was associated, in opposition to the *Neri*, who were the more violent and dangerous, and the consequent excesses of the latter

Con la forza di tal che testè piaggia,

that Dante ascribes the proscription of himself and his party.

Where Dante does bestow a passing notice on Celestin, it is free from bitterness of spirit (Inf. xxviii, 105-8). Bonifazio speaking of him is made to say, that his predecessor had little love for the keys, and did not care to keep them—a simple fact well contrasted with his own greediness, who loved these

keys so well, that he sought them with fraud and retained them by violence.

The political sense of the Divina Commedia has opened up to us at the commencement of the poem a space of time extending over several years. There is here an allegorical sketch of the most important period of the Poet's political career, and we might well expect that those persons whose conduct had been fatal to his prospects and his political hopes would, in some way, figure on the scene. This seems necessary to give to the *tableau* that completeness which the subject required. In the regions of Hell, the Poet has recourse to prophetic prevision, a faculty of the damned which affords him an unfailing means of overtaking offenders living at the period of the vision; but in the ante-infernal region, and before Acheron is passed, this mode is not available. Living characters here occur to mind, who are too intimately associated with the political allegory to be omitted, and they are alluded to as nameless shades. This hypothesis is borne out by analogy, and confirmed by history.

The "cattivo coro degli angeli", as is here related, lost their state and place in heaven through their pusilanimous neutrality. The "cattivi" fell from a similar cause. The former were those who would not, when required, support the authority of the divine government; the latter, by analogy, are those who would not, at a critical moment, support the government of the Florentine Republic. We must not lose sight of the historical character which Dante has given to his

introduction, the things there alluded to have reference to passing events.

Dino Compagni and Giovanni Villani, the contemporaries of Dante, who also took part in these events, state in their Chronicles, that, to the pusilanimous neutrality of the party Bianchi, with which Dante was connected, all the misfortunes which overwhelmed him and them were owing.

The recognized head of this party was Messer Vieri de' Cerchi, who, with his wealth, family, and supporters, was the most potent person in the Republic, virtually ruled the authorities, and having the people also on his side, possessed all the necessary means of controling the course of events, had his courage and capacity been equal to the occasion. But they were not: in these qualities himself and his family signally failed, and the historians charge both them and him with the identical guilt "*viltate*", which involved the Bianchi and their recreant chief in all the horrors of a present Hell, and the prospects of a future one.

The head of the Neri was Messer Corso Donati, a nobleman of reckless and unprincipled character, and much in favour with the Pope. He was the personal enemy of the Cerchi, and treated Messer Vieri with insulting arrogance. The contest between the two parties threatened to involve Florence in the greatest disasters. Dante sought to prevent them by banishing the chiefs of each. The Pope had previously sent for Messer Vieri to Rome, exhorting him to become friends with his opponent; on this occasion, says

Villani, he showed so little judgement, and so much obstinacy and strangeness of manner, affirming he was at enmity with no one, that the Pope took much offence both against him and his party (Vill. l. viii, 38). When other efforts at pacification had failed, and the Bianchi were exposed to the vengeance of their enemies, aided by Carlo di Valois and his French cavalry, the Cerchi were exhorted by the Signori to defend themselves and their party, but they would not, Messer Vieri de' Cerchi not only refused, but set so bad an example, shewing an utter want of confidence in himself and his friends, that the people were discouraged, the rulers remained helpless, and the city was subjected to all the horrors of a town taken by assault. A bold and patriotic policy would have prevented these evils. Florence had sufficient means to set Carlo di Valois with his troop of twelve hundred cavalry at defiance, and to put down Messer Corso, and only needed an energetic leader to direct her arms. Dante, who had gone to the Pope as ambassador, was detained by him in Rome, for Bonifazio well knew that the Poet's presence in Florence would have defeated his treacherous schemes. The Cerchi showed themselves arrant cowards—"ma i savi uomini diceano: E' son mercatanti, e naturalmente sono vili, e i loro nemici sono maestri di guerra e crudeli uomini"—"e volendo i Cerchi signoreggiare, furono signoreggiati" (Dino Compagni l. i, 27). Dino expressly states that the power and influence of the Cerchi were so great in Florence, that they might

easily have obtained the Signoria, which they were counselled to do, but they refused "più per viltà che per pietà" (Dino l. i, 19). And this is confirmed by Villani who states—"per lo seguito grande che aveano i Cerchi, il reggimento della città era quasi in loro podere" (l. viij, 38).—Politically they were—"di grande affare, possenti e di grandi parentadi, e ricchissimi."—Personally they were—"morbidi, salvatiche, e 'ngrati, siccome gente venuti in piccol tempo in grande stato e podere" (Vill. l. viii, 38). Dante himself did not love them, and it was from principle rather than personal affection that he joined their party, which was that of the people, by whose aid he hoped to preserve the peace of the Republic. He had once attempted to form a third party which should embrace both moderate guelfs and ghibelins, but not succeeding he joined the Bianchi—"accorgendosi che per sè medesimo non poteva una terza parte tenere, la quale giusta, la ingiustizia delle altre abbattesse, con quella si accostò, nella quale, secondo il suo giudizio, era meno di malvagità" (Boccaccio).

On the 15th October 1301, new priori came into office at Florence, of whom Dino Compagni was one. The Neri pretended to aid them with their advice, and, though suspected, were listened to—"we gave them good words," says Dino, "when we ought to have been sharpening our swords" (l. ii, 31). Attempts at reconciliation were regarded as covert acts of treachery. "La gente che tenea co' Cerchi, ne prese viltà, dicendo: Non è da darsi fatica, chè pace

sarà. E i loro avversari pensavano pur di compiere le loro malizie" (ibid.).

When Carlo di Valois and his followers had entered Florence, the Signori elected forty citizens of both parties to consult for the safety of the state. Those who intended evil remained silent—"*gli altri aveano perduto il vigore*" (Dino). "Baldino Falconieri, uomo vile, dicea: Signori, io sto bene, perch' io non dormia sicuro: mostrando viltà a' suoi avversari." Messer Lapo Salterelli, a bianco odious to Dante (Pard. xv, 128), sought to obtain favour of the Neri by blaming the Signori. In another place Dino exclaims of him—"O Messer Lapo Salterelli, minacciatore e battitori de' rettori, che non ti serviano nelle tue questioni, ove t'armasti? in casa i Pulci, stando nascoso." Messer Manetto Scali, however, did arm his people and fortify his palace, but was cajoled into inactivity by the Spini (see Dino l. ii, 34. 35. 45). Even after Carlo di Valois had thrown off the mask of pretended good will, and Corso Donati with his reckless rabble had burst into the city, the pusilanimous Cerchi would do nothing to oppose him. Messer Sciatta de' Cancellieri, captain of the Florentines, offered, with three hundred horse, to go and seize Corso, but Vieri de' Cerchi replied, "let him come" trusting to the people for protection, but the people were without a leader and dispirited (Villani l. viii, 48). "I Neri, conoscendo i nemici loro vili e che aveano perduto il vigore, s'avacciarono di prendere la terra" (Dino l. ii, 38). The horrors began: pilage, arson, and murder. The Priori

ordered the great bell over their palace to be sounded, but it was of no avail—"perchè la gente sbigottita non trasse di casa i Cerchi. Non uscì uomo a cavallo nè armato."—"I Cerchi si rifuggirono nelle loro case, stando colle porte chiuse" (l. ii, 41. 42). The Cerchi were paralysed by fear and avarice—"tra per la paura e per l'avarizia, i Cerchi di niente si providono, e erano i principali della discordia. E per non dar mangiare a' fanti, e per loro viltà, niuna difesa nè riparo feciono nella loro cacciata" (l. ii, 45).

Dino Compagni, who shared the Poet's policy, shared his feelings also, and long and bitter are his execrations on those faint hearted citizens, who like the "cattivo coro degli angeli", in this hour of fiery trial, would do nothing for the defence of the Republic and themselves. "O malvaggi cittadini, procuratori della distruzione della vostra città, dove l'avete condotta!" Messer Berto Frescobaldi was indebted to the Cerchi for the loan of a large sum of money. Dino exclaims—"Ove li meritasti? ove comparisti?" And of Manetto Scali, a relative of the Cerchi, who was induced to do nothing, he says—"ove prendesti l'arme? ove è il seguito tuo? ove sono i cavalli coperti? Lasciastiti sottomettere a coloro, che di niente erano appresso a te." And to the people he says—"And you O popolani who desired to obtain the offices of the government, and to reap the honours, and to occupy the palaces of the rulers, where was your defence, blaming your friends and praising your ene-

mies, and that merely to save yourselves"—"solamente per campare!" (l. ii, 45. 46).

Can we doubt, after these details, who the *cattivi* were, *"che mai non fur vivi"*—and who he was, their type and chief—

Che fece, per viltate, il gran rifiuto.

M. Fauriel in his "Vie de Dante", has, in few words, stated the substance of this unpardonable conduct (vol. i, p. 176). "Le peuple florentin avait couru aux armes au premier éclat de ces hostilités; mais personne ne se présenta pour le commander. Les chefs du parti des Blancs, les Cerchi, avaient rejeté toutes les propositions courageuses qui leur avaient été faites, et ne songeant qu'à eux (per se foro) s'étaient contentés de se fortifier dans leurs palais. Les prieurs étaient des hommes incapables de prendre un parti vigoureux, et autour desquels chacun hésitait à se ranger." Had the Cerchi acted like brave and resolute men, Florence would have escaped the miseries that followed—the government would not have passed to the creatures of the Neri—Messer Cante Gabrielli would not have been made podestà—six hundred citizens would not have been sent into exile—and Dante would have been spared the misfortunes that befell him. But Messer Vieri refused to do his duty, and therefore all these things followed. Well might this be called 'the great refusal', for such indeed it was by its fatal effects.

An attentive consideration of the entire passage, Inf. iii, 52-63, suggests these reflections. Several of the souls which followed the restless banner were well known to Dante, a circumstance in favour of their being Florentines, once his fellow citizens. They all gathered to it, as one troop. This insegna has a meaning, and was not that of the Church, nor, as Buti suggests, "della carnalità".

Dante says—

> ....correva tanto ratto
> Che d'ogni posa mi pareva indegna.

If any of those who followed this banner were Florentines, it is probable that they all were, for it was one troop, distinguished by its proper ensign. The banner therefore was probably the ensign of the Florentine Republic. Its restlessness would go far to transform this probability into a certainly, for such was the character of the government—

> Quante volte del tempo che rimembre
> Legge, moneta, e uficio, e costume
> Hai tu mutato, e rinnovato membre!
> E se ben ti ricorda, e vidi lume,
> Vedrai te simigliante a quella inferma,
> Che non puo trovar posa in su le piume,
> Ma con dar volta suo dolore scherma. (*Purg.* vi, 145-151.)

This might all be summed up in the movement of the flag—

> Che d'ogni posa mi pareva indegna.

The troop of souls which followed the banner was so long, that the Poet says he could not have thought

death had slain so many. This cannot be meant in reference to all mankind from the beginning of the world, which would be absurd, but to a certain class of persons only, to those whose banner this was; Dante could not have believed that so many of these were dead. After he had recognized several of them, he perceives the shade of him who for want of courage and of confidence in his own powers and resources, made a most disastrous refusal, for such his words imply.

This individual he does not name, any more than the others whom he knew, probably because, like the "cattivo coro degli angeli", they had not died, and therefore the Poet might well be surprised to see so many of them here, as if they had. When he perceives the shade of this person he knows at once who they all are, "*la setta de' cattivi*" displeasing alike to God and to his enemies, and whom Dante, in his soul, abhorred.

The word *viltate* is used by the Poet in the sense of cowardice, and is applied by him to those of whom better things had been expected; it is the opposite to "*ardire e franchezza*". Thus Virgil reproves the faint heartedness of Dante, when, doubting of his own powers to sustain the perils of the proposed voyage through Hell, he seems disposed to decline the undertaking. Virgil, perceiving his motive, says—

L'anima tua è da *viltate* offesa.

And when he had related the celestial assistance on which Dante might reckon, he exclaims—

> **Perchè tanta *viltà* nel cuore allette?**
> **Perchè ardire e franchezza non hai?**

But a still more remarkable passage in which *viltate* is used in the sense of shameful timidity, or cowardice, is that where the Poet alludes to the pusilanimous conduct of Frederic, King of Sicily, who had joined the Ghibelin League, but on the death of the Emperor Henry VII, refused to continue his support, declined to become its chief, and would not accept the signoria of Pisa—

> **Vedrassi l'avarizia e la *viltate***
> **Di quel che guarda l'Isola del fuoco,**
> **Dove Anchise finì la lunga etate.** (*Purg.* xix, 130–3.)

This, in fact, is so applicable to the shade of him,

> **Che fece, per viltate, il gran rifiuto,**

that some expositors have supposed the King of Sicily to be here intended, but Frederic did not die till years after Dante, in 1337, nor is it probable that the Poet here alludes to him.

The Abbate Barcellini proposed the brother of Giano della Bella, to whom, on the latter having been driven from Florence, the people had recourse as his successor, but who refused to be their leader. The Padre Lombardi, who doubted if Dante had ever seen Celestin, following up this view, named M. Torrigiano de' Cerchi. Recently, the Editor of the Commentary by Buti has suggested Augustulus, "colla deposizione del quale morì fra noi la maestà del romano imperio", but this, I think, is wandering far away

from the intention of the Poet, we might as well go back to the older hypothesis of Diocletian.

The sense of the word *"cattivi"*, here used by Dante, is *vili*, with an especial reference to disloyalty, as is shown by the context. The "cattivo coro degli angeli", who were neither loyal nor rebellious, were *disleali e vili*, and sought only to save themselves, "per se foro". So *"la setta de' cattivi"* were uomini disleali e vili, and hence are mingled with them. They were cowards, without energy of character, and lost to every sense of public duty. Now this, as we have seen, was precisely the character of the Florentine Bianchi, especially of those who followed the Cerchi, Dino Compagni ascribes viltà to them all. They acted not the part of men, they had lost all manly vigour; Dante declares they never had any—*"che mai non fur vivi."* Dante and Dino are here agreed, *"la setta de' cattivi"*, of the former, correspond to the "malvagi cittadini" of the latter, the most conspicuous among whom was the faint hearted and disloyal Messer Vieri de' Cerchi. He and they were equally displeasing to the opposite parties, God and his enemies. Like the "cattivo coro", they would fight for neither one nor the other, "ma per se foro". In a political sense they were alike hateful to the Ghibelins and the Guelfs, to the Emperor and the Pope. Dante, who held the pusillanimous in abomination, had a supreme contempt for them all; this we can well understand from his own frank and fervent character.

E quel che più ti gravera le spalle,
Sarà la compagnia malvagia e scempia,
Con la qual tu cadrai in questa valle. (*Pard.* xvii, 61-

When Dante completed his Inferno, it is more th
probable that Messer Vieri de' Cerchi had depar
to the region of shades. He was a man passed
middle age at the battle of Campaldino in 1289, wh
he commanded a body of Florentine Cavalry. Vill
relates, that, although suffering in one of his le
possibly from gout, being required to name th
of his own *sesto* who should first attack the ene
he named only himself, his son and his nephews,
grandsons *(nepoti)* (lib. vii, c. 130). Now, if he
grandsons old enough to take the field in 1289,
must then have been upwards of sixty, and it is
probable, therefore, that his life extended much
yond the year 1302, when he would have been nea
four score. But admitting that the Chronicler me
the nephews of Messer Vieri, who was the head
the family (though his naming them for the action
greatest danger, along with himself and son, wo
imply that he considered them as his own) even on
showing, he may well be supposed to have been nea
fifty, and thirteen years afterwards to have ente
at least his sixtieth year, so that as it has been sho
that the Inferno was not finished till after the de
of Pope Clement V, in 1313, it is much more p
bable than not, that Messer Vieri de' Cerchi was t
also among the departed. But to return to
"cattivi".

On the confines of Hell, these outcasts are carried along with an irresistable whirling motion, headed by a banner that disdains any rest.

Dante often assigns punishments with a sort of poetic justice drawn from the special offences committed. Those who with shameful quiescence and cowardly torpidity, in the hour of extreme peril, instead of coming forth like living, energetic men, to the support of the government and the defence of their city, skulked and hid and kept out of the way, who shut themselves up in their houses, and even pretended to be friends with their enemies, these fear-stricken Florentines, dead to reason, which is always on the side of duty, and therefore destitute of their proper life, for, as saith the Master, "vivere è ragione usare", these "cattivi", scared by false inferences, and neglecting alike their obligations and their interests, who would not rally to the rescue of the Republic, and gather round the banner of the Gonfaloniere, are here for ever rushing after it as if nothing could stop them. And that conspicuous, well known figure—

Che fece, per viltate, il gran rifiuto,

is their nameless chief, whose refusal to defend the party Bianchi was the ruin of the Poet. Well might Dante recognize him again, and thus know who and what the souls in that long troop of loathsome sluggards were, by Heaven rejected and by Hell refused.

Thus, in a few significant verses, Dante has given

an epitome of that political revolution which it is necessary to bear in mind, in order to understand the full meaning of his exordium. And he has done so in the way most congenial to his own lofty spirit, pointing distinctly to the individual who, more than any other, deserved the character which he has so forcibly drawn, but whom he would not name, righty judging his name unworthy of record in Italy's imperishable Book.

ONORATE L'ALTISSIMO POETA.